

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 KHARTOUM 2934

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, XA, SU
SUBJECT: PRE-UNGA CONSULTATION WITH FRANCIS DENG

SUMMARY: IN MEETING WITH DAS DALLEY AND OFFICE DIRECTOR HOLLOWAY,
STATE MINISTER DENG SAID OAU WILL PROBABLY FOLLOW FRONT LINE
COUNTRIES IN POLICY TOWARDS RHODESIA. HE SAID ANGO-AMERICAN
PLAN WILL PROBABLY WORK BUT BRITISH MUST OVERCOME "NATURAL"
SUSPICION OF THEIR OBJECTIVES. SUDAN WILL SUPPORT OAU
OPPOSITION TO FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND WILL ATTEMPT TO LEAD
OAU INTO MEDIATION ROLE TO ELIMINATE PROBLEMS WHICH CAUSE
INTERVENTIONS. PAN AFRICAN FORCE MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE IF
CLEARLY SEEN AS OAU CREATURE. DENG BELIEVES REGIONAL HUMAN
RIGHTS COMMISSION IS UNLIKELY AND UNSUITABLE NOW FOR OAU.
HE IS DISGRUNT WITH SOUTH DIALOGUE. DENG VIGOROUSLY

DEFENDED POLICY OF LINKING ZIONISM WITH RACISM DESPITE
POLITICAL PROBLEMS CAUSE THEREBY AND WAS OF OPINION THAT
SUCH LINK MIGHT BE AVOIDED ONLY AT COST TO USG POSITION VIS-A-
VIS RACISM. HE BELIEVES USG TOO TOLERANT OF ISRAEL
WHICH DEPENDS MAINLY ON U.S. SUPPORT. HE PREDICTED OAU
CONFERENCE WOULD SPEND MUCH TIME ON QUESTION OF SOUTH
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AFRICA. END SUMMARY

1. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY DALLEY AND OFFICE DIRECTOR
HOLLOWAY MET WITH DR. FRANCIS DENG, MINISTER OF STATE FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ON JUNE 29 TO DISCUSS ISSUES OF INTEREST IN
CONNECTION WITH 33RD UNGA. DENG MADE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON
SPECIFIC ISSUES RAISED BY DALLEY AND HOLLOWAY:

(A) RHODESIA

DENG SAID THAT AFRICA WAS "DISAPPOINTED" IN BRITISH BUT
USG HAD BETTER REPUTATION FOR SINCERITY. FRONT LINE
COUNTRIES WANT TO PLACE FULL RESPONSIBILITY ON ANGLO-
AMERICAN PROPOSAL BUT BRITISH SEEM TO BE DETERRED BY THIS.
DENG ASKED HOW COMMITTED ARE THE ENGLISH TO MAJORITY RULE.
DENG ADMITTED TO SOME SUSPICION THAT BRITISH ARE NOT
EAGER TO REPLACE SMITH REGIME. HE SAID THAT BRITISH
DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS, TO WHICH ALLUSION IS OFTEN
MADE, ARE NOT MAIN FACTORS. BRITISH GOVERNMENT "HAS TIES"
TO SMITH AND RESPECTS HIS INTERESTS. SECONDLY, UK SEEMS
SYMPATHETIC TO ALTERNATE SOLUTIONS SUCH AS INTERNAL
AGREEMENT. DENG CONCLUDED THAT HE THOUGHT ANGLO-AMERICAN
PLAN WOULD WORK PROVIDED THERE IS SINCERITY AND BRITISH
CAN OVERCOME HISTORIC, NATURAL DISTRUST OF THEM BY AFRICANS.
DENG BELIEVES OAU WILL PROBABLY REAFFIRM ITS COMMITMENT
TO LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND CONTINUE SUPPORT TO PATRIOTIC
FRONT ONLY. CRUCIAL ASPECT OF OAU ACTIONS IS ATTITUDE
OF FRONT LINE COUNTRIES. HE URGED USG AND UK TO DEMONSTRATE
SINCERITY AND TO PUT PRESSURE ON SMITH WHO "IS REAL PROBLEM."
AFRICANS BELIEVE ANY COMPROMISE WOULD FAVOR SMITH.

(B) FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN AFRICA

SUDAN HAS BEEN LOUDLY ANTI-SOVIET, BUT RECENTLY HAD MODERATED
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TONE OF ITS CRITICISM IN ANTICIPATION OF ITS OAU LEADERSHIP.
DENG, HOWEVER, WAS OUTSPOKENLY CRITICAL OF SOVIET MOTIVES
AND ROLE IN AFRICA. SOVIETS USED TO SUPPORT LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS BECAUSE SUCH MOVEMENTS WERE IN OPPOSITION TO
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, BUT NOW USSR HIDES BEHIND LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS, USING CONFLICTS AS POINT OF ENTRY INTO AFRICA.
SUDAN BELIEVES ITS PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES IS TO EXPOSE THIS.
THUS, SUDAN HAS BEEN TALKING TO OTHER AFRICAN STATES ABOUT
SOVIET DESIGNS. SOME AFRICAN STATES WHICH EARLIER WANTED
WITHDRAWAL OF WESTERN PRESENCE WANT TO BE RESCUED FROM SOVIETS,
OR ONCE WILLING TO STAND IDLE WHILE USSR RUINED ITSELF IN
AFRICA, THEY NOW WISH FOR ALTERNATIVES TO INTRACTABLE PROBLEM
OF SOVIET PRESENCE. USSR TENDS TO PREVENT SOLUTIONS TO
AFRICAN PROBLEMS AND
DOES NOT LET AFRICANS RESOLVE TENSIONS AMONG THEMSELVES.
AFRICANS WANT RECONCILIATION AND NEGOTIATION. IT MAY BE TOO
LATE BY THE TIME THE WEST "WAKES UP." IN THE MEANTIME, SUDAN
WILL TRY TO RESOLVE BY NEGOTIATION THOSE UNDERLYING PROBLEMS
WHICH SOVIETS EXPLOIT. SUDAN WILL FIRMLY SUPPORT CONTINUED
OAU MEDIATION OF THE ZAIRE/ANGOLA DISPUTE, FOR EXAMPLE, AND
WILL ENCOURAGE EFFORTS TO PLACE OAU ON RECORD AGAINST FOREIGN
INTERVENTION AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO NEGOTIATION OF DISPUTES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 KHARTOUM 2934

(C) PAN AFRICAN FORCE

DENG SAID IDEA FOR PAN AFRICAN FORCE PROMPTED PROVOCATIVE AND EMOTIONAL REACTIONS. OAU MIGHT DEVELOP POSITION THAT FORCE CONCEIVED IN OAU CONTEXT AND MADE UP OF SMALL UNITS FROM OAU COUNTRIES MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE, BUT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT THAT FORCE BE PERCEIVED AS OAU'S. WHETHER OR NOT SUCH A PROPOSAL WILL BE RAISED AT FORTHCOMING SUMMIT IS STILL UNCERTAIN.

(D) OAU EFFECTIVENESS

DENG AGREED STRONGLY THAT OAU MACHINERY MUST BE STRENGTHENED. SUDAN IS INTERESTED IN THE LONG TERM PROBLEM OF ENHANCING OAU'S ABILITY TO COLLECTIVELY RESPOND TO AFRICAN ISSUES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN ORDER TO PREVENT FOREIGN INTERVENTION OVERALL.

(E) REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

DENG SAID THAT REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RAISED QUESTIONS. IT WOULD BE EASY TO DRAFT INSTITUTION NOT
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RELEVANT TO SITUATION. WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE ACCEPTED SET OF PRINCIPLES, INCLUDING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, WHICH ARE UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED AMONG WEST. IN AFRICA THERE IS MIXING OF CULTURES AND FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS THAT GO RIGHT TO VERY STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY. SUDAN FOUGHT 17-YEAR WAR MARKED BY TOTAL BREAKDOWN OF SOCIETY AND VIOLATIONS OF ALL HUMAN RIGHTS. IN ADDITION, POST-INDEPENDENT SUDAN WAS MARKED BY RUTHLESS PARTISAN STRUGGLE. YET WHEN SUDAN SOLVED CIVIL WAR AND ENDED UNSCRUPULOUS PARTISAN FOFNFLICT, PRISONS WERE EMPTIED AND HUMAN RIGHTS REAPPEARED OVERNIGHT. THUS SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WERE MOST IMPORTANT WAY TO BENEFIT HUMAN RIGHTS. WHEN AFRICANS HEAR USG TALK OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THEY THINK OF SOUTH AFRICA, APARTHEID, ECONOMIC RIGHTS, STARVATION AND SIMILAR ISSUES. HUMAN RIGHTS IN AMERICAN TERMS ARE PART OF THESE LARGER PROBLEMS. SUDAN IS INTERESTED IN HUMAN RIGHTS BUT HAS ITS OWN PERSPECTIVE. DENG TOLD STORY TO ILLUSTRATE THAT BRITISH NATURALLY REGARD SECURITY OF EUROPE AS MORE IMPORTANT THAN HUMAN RIGHTS AND AFRICANS FEEL SAME WAY ABOUT AFRICA.

(F) NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE

URGED TO SEND SUITABLE HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION TO SEPTEMBER 5 OVERVIEW COMMITTEE SESSION, DENG REMARKED AFRICANS ARE GETTING DISCOURAGED BY LACK OF MOMENTUM ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. SUDAN, HOWEVER, FEELS THAT DIALOGUE SHOULD CONTINUE AND DENG EXPRESSED INTEREST IN POSSIBLY ATTENDING.

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(G) ZIONISM AND RACISM LINK

AFTER HEARING PRESENTATION URGING SUDAN TO PREVENT RESUMPTION OF LINKAGE BETWEEN RESOLUTION DEFINING ZIONISM AS RACISM AND PROGRAM OF THE DECADE AGAINST RACISM AT OAU, NAM, AND AUGUST GENEVA CONFERENCE, DENG SAID HE WOULD SKIP PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSION OF NATURE OF RACISM BECAUSE HE HEARD USG PROPOSING THAT ZIONISM AND RACISM BE SEPARATED FROM PROGRAM OF DECADE AGAINST RACISM "FOR POLITICAL CONVENIENCE." HE DID NOT THINK IT WAS GOOD TRADE-OFF. LINKING OF TWO MIGHT CAUSE INCONVENIENCE IN USA AND IN MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS, HE CONCEDED, BUT RACISM IS REAL PROBLEM WEIGHTIER THAN "POLITICAL CONVENIENCES." WORLD TODAY TALKS OF NAZISM IN HITLER'S GERMANY AS ONE-TIME PHENOMENON WHICH FLARED AND DISAPPEARED, BUT NAZISM EXISTS NOW IN SOUTH AFRICA. WORLD OPINION REGARDS ZIONISM AS RACISM. U.S. PUBLIC IS UPSET BY THIS QUESTION BUT IS NOT UPSET BY NAZISM OF SOUTH AFRICA. "DO WE TRY TO STEM TIDE OF HISTORY OR ADJUST PRINCIPLES FOR SAKE OF POLITICAL CONVENIENCE?" TO REMARKS THAT USG HAS WORKED HARD TO ACHIEVE FAIR SETTLEMENT IN MIDDLE EAST AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA AND NEW RESOLUTION
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LINKING ZIONISM TO RACISM WOULD BE SERIOUS BLOW TO DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS, DENG REMARKED THAT ZIONISM/RACISM LINK IS "POPULAR" AND AMERICA WILL LOSE ALLIES IN BATTLE AGAINST RACISM BY IGNORING THAT. IF WE WANT ARABS TO SUPPORT OUR CONCERNS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WE MUST BE RESPONSIVE TO THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT ZIONISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST. "IT IS NOT JUST QUESTION OF TRADING OFF CONCERNS," HE SAID, "BUT QUESTION OF UNITY OF VISION" ABOUT PROBLEMS OF RACISM. DENG CONCEDED THAT SOME FORMULA MIGHT BE FOUND FOR EFFECTIVE STATEMENT ON RACISM THAT WOULD NOT INCLUDE DEFINITION OF ZIONISM AS RACISM, BUT WARNED THAT USA MUST SOMEDAY "WAKE UP AND LOSE PROTECTIVE ATTITUDE" TOWARDS ISRAEL, WHICH IS TOTALLY DEPENDENT ON U.S. IT IS HARD FOR US TO BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. CANNOT PLACE MORE PRESSURE ON ISRAEL TO END ITS INTRANSIGENCE. HE ADDED THAT FUTURE OF U.S. ANTI-SOVIET EFFORTS IN AFRICA DEPENDS ON CHANGE OF U.S. IMAGE (FROM ISRAELI ALLY TO INDEPENDENT PROMOTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS). DENG WARNED THAT USG MIGHT SUPPORT ISRAEL TO NEGATION OF OTHER PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH USG STANDS. U.S. CLAIMS TO SUPPORT EFFORTS TO COMBAT RACISM AND END APARTHEID, YET SAYS IT CANNOT PARTICIPATE IN THESE EFFORTS BECAUSE OF ITS CONCERN OVER ZIONISM. THIS LOSES CREDIBILITY WITH AFRICANS AND WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR FRIENDS OF U.S. TO JUSTIFY U.S. POSITION AT AUGUST CONFERENCE. PERHAPS ZIONISM-RACISM LINKAGE CAN BE AVOIDED, BUT ARABS FEEL STRONGLY AND U.S. NON-PARTICIPATION

WILL WEAKEN U.S. POSITION.

(H) MIDDLE EAST

ASKED TO HELP AVOID STRIDENT AND TENDENTIOUS RESOLUTIONS ABOUT MIDDLE EAST AT OAU AND NAM MEETINGS, DENG ASKED WHY USG IS SO COMMITTED TO SUPPORT OF ISRAEL TO EXTENT THAT USG MUST WORRY ABOUT WHAT PEOPLE SAY ABOUT ISRAEL. WHY NOT, HE ASKED, INSTEAD TRY TO BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENTS
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IN ISRAELI POLICIES? THINK ABOUT WAYS U.S. CAN HELP ISRAEL "OPEN UP," HE SUGGESTED, AND ADDED USG MIGHT TRY TO EDUCATE AMERICAN PUBLIC RATHER THAN BE "GUIDED BY POPULAR MIS-CONCEPTIONS" IN AMERICA.

(I) SOUTH AFRICA AND APARTHEID

DENG BELIEVES THERE MAY BE GROWING SENTIMENT IN CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO REDEFINE SOUTH AFRICA IN DECOLONIZATION TERMS. AS FAR AS OAU POSITION IS CONCERNED, SOUTH AFRICA IS THE CUTTING EDGE OF AFRICAN COMMITMENT TO BRING MAJORITY RULE TO ALL OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. AFTER HEARING DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF U.S. EFFORTS AND INTENTIONS IN STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID, DENG SAID USG COULD PROBABLY TRY HARDER TO PRESSURE SAG TO CHANGE ITS POLICIES. DENG CONCLUDED THAT CONSIDERABLE TIME AT OAU WOULD BE SPENT ON REVIEWING AND REVISING AFRICAN STRATEGIES REGARDING SAG AND ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID.
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